

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ACDE-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 EUR-12 H-01

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PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00

NSC-05 BIB-01 ERDE-00 /087 W
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O P 271530Z FEB 75

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0863

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 MBFR VIENNA 0072

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP REPORT TO NAC

AD HOC GROUP ON FEBRUARY 27 APPROVED IN GENERAL TERMS
FOLLOWING OUTLINE FOR USE BY CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) IN
MAKING AD HOC GROUP REPORT TO NAC ON FEBRUARY 28.
GRANDE WILL DRAW ON MATERIAL IN THE OUTLINE, NOT
NECESSARILY USING IT IN FULL. FURTHER MATERIAL DEALING
WITH NEW EASTERN PROPOSALS INTRODUCED DURING FEBRUARY 25
INFORMAL SESSION IS CONTAINED SEPTEL.

IN DISTINCTION TO THE CASE OF WRITTEN REPORTS TO NAC,
THE AD HOC GROUP DOES NOT ATTEMPT A WORD FOR WORD
APPROVAL OF THESE OUTLINES, WHICH ARE CONSIDERED AS
SPEAKING NOTES ON WHICH REPORTING REPRESENTATIVES WILL
DRAW.

BEGIN TEXT:

OUTLINE OF AHG REPORT TO NAC

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A. COVERAGE

- AHG REPORTED TO NAC NOVEMBER 28 (FOR MINISTERS);

- END OF ROUND REPORT DECEMBER 13

- THIS REPORT COVERS THE FIRST FOUR WEEKS OF THE
CURRENT ROUND.

B. PLENARIES

FORMAL REJECTION OF WPO FREEZE PROPOSAL BY US AND
A GENERALLY STRONGER TONE BY THE OTHER SIDE.

OPENING PLENARY OF FIFTH ROUND JANUARY 30:

- ALLIED PRESENTATION REITERATED NEED TO REACH
AGREEMENT ON SUBSTANTIAL AND MILITARILY SIGNIFICANT
REDUCTIONS AND REVIEWED WESTERN PROPOSALS

- WPO STATEMENT CONTAINED NOTHING NEW, BUT REVIEWED
THE THREE PROPOSALS THEY HAD TABLED, INCLUDING THE
FREEZE. AMBASSADOR OESER OPENED THE SPEECH WITH A
STATEMENT, CONSIDERED IN DEPLORABLE TASTE, REFERRING
TO WORLD WAR II AND GIVING ALMOST TOTAL CREDIT TO
THE SOVIETS FOR LIBERATING THE GDR IN PARTICULAR AND
EUROPE IN GENERAL.

SECOND PLENARY (FEBRUARY 6):

- ALLIES DID NOT SPEAK, CONTINUING PATTERN OF DE-
LIVERING STATEMENTS ON ALTERNATE WEEKS.

- EASTERN PRESENTATION BY AMBASSADOR STRULAK RE-
VIEWED, IN TOUGH LANGUAGE, BASIC WPO PROPOSALS.
REACTED IN GENERAL WAY OF OUR REJECTION OF FREEZE
(AS GIVEN IN INFORMAL) BUT IN MILD MANNER INDICATING
DESIRE TO CONTINUE DISCUSSION OF PROPOSAL.

THIRD PLENARY (FEBRUARY 13):

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- THE ALLIES CONTINUED TO MAKE CASE FOR SUBSTAN-
TIAL AND MILITARILY SIGNIFICANT REDUCTIONS, FORMALLY
REJECTED THE WP FREEZE PROPOSAL IN ACCORDANCE WITH
THE NAC GUIDANCE, AND EMPHASIZED IMPORTANCE AND
GREATER MERITS OF WESTERN NON-INCREASE PROPOSALS IN
CONNECTION WITH FIRST PHASE REDUCTION AGREEMENT.

- SPEAKING FIRST, AMBASSADOR KLEIN OF CZECHOSLO-

VAKIA FOR THE EAST DELIVERED A REBUTTAL OF THE ALLIED REJECTION ON THE FREEZE PROPOSAL, (AGAIN ON THE BASIS OF WESTERN ARGUMENTS IN INFORMAL SESSIONS) AND AGAIN URGED THE WEST TO ACCEPT IT.

FOURTH PLENARY (FEBRUARY 20):

- STATEMENT BY DICHEV: FAIRLY MILD AND UNCONTROVERSIAL AS FAR AS FLANK FACTORS WERE CONCERNED.

-SIGNIFICANCE NOT YET KNOWN OF SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO "ARMAMENTS" AS WELL AS MANPOWER AS FEATURE OF WP NO-INCREASE PROPOSAL.

FIFTH PLENARY (FEBRUARY 27):

GENERAL ASPECTS OF WPO STATEMENTS:

- STRESS ON PRINCIPLES AGREED IN JUNE '73 COMMUNIQUE OF PRELIMINARY TALKS, INTERPRETATION OF MUTUALITY TO MEAN SIMULTANEOUS AND IDENTICAL OBLIGATIONS, AND OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY TO MEAN NO UNILATERAL ADVANTAGES AND THEREFORE NO ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS.

- NO INDICATION OF FLEXIBILITY

- ON THE CONTRARY A HARDER TONE SEEMS TO HAVE EMERGED. BEST EXAMPLES ARE FROM AMBASSADOR STRULAK'S PRESENTATION WHERE HE CHARACTERIZES THE WESTERN PROPOSALS AS A "HIGHLY QUESTIONABLE AND UNJUST SCHEME" AND THE COMMON CEILING, (THE UNILATERAL MILITARY ADVANTAGES HE ACCUSED THE WEST OF SEEKING) HE SAID IT WAS "TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE".

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-CONTINUED REFERENCES IN EACH SPEECH TO 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF ENDING OF WORLD WAR II AS AN APPROPRIATE YEAR TO REACH AN AGREEMENT IN VIENNA.

-AMBASSADOR STRULAK'S STATEMENT, MOST COMPREHENSIVE EASTERN STATEMENT OF THEIR POSITION THIS ROUND, MAY BE CHARACTERIZED AS UNYIELDING ON BASIC ELEMENTS. NEVERTHELESS CERTAIN NEW FORMULATIONS EMERGED: THE PHRASE "CORRELATION OF MILITARY POTENTIALS" SUBSTITUTED IN PLACES FOR WELL-KNOWN PHRASE "RELATIONSHIP OF FORCES";

- INCREASED FREQUENCY OF DIRECT OR IMPLIED REFERENCES TO FRG.

- OTHERWISE, EASTERN ARGUMENTS FOLLOWED WELL-KNOWN
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O P 271530Z FEB 75

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(A) SCORED ALL WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS (EXCEPT
U.S.) FOR REFUSAL TO COMMIT THEMSELVES TO REDUCTIONS
FROM THE BEGINNING; AND

(B) ACCUSED WEST OF SEEKING UNILATERAL MILITARY
ADVANTAGES.

C. INFORMAL SESSIONS

FIRST INFORMAL OF FIFTH ROUND, FEBRUARY 4

- ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES REVIEWED ADDITIONS AND
MODIFICATIONS TO WESTERN PROGRAMME IN LAST AND EARLIER
ROUNDS; MADE CASE FOR FOCUSING DISCUSSION ON SUBSTAN-
TIAL REDUCTIONS; AND PRESENTED ALLIED RESPONSE TO WPO
FREEZE PROPOSAL.

- EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES REVIEWED THEIR WHOLE

PROGRAMME TO SUPPORT THEIR CLAIM OF WILLINGNESS TO UNDERTAKE SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS, AND THIS REQUIRED SOME DE-EMPHASIS OF THE FREEZE AND CORRESPONDINGLY RE-NEWED EMPHASIS ON THE INITIAL STEP REDUCTION PROPOSAL,
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AND THE 8 NOVEMBER 1973 DRAFT AGREEMENT.

- THEY STATED CONCERN ABOUT ALLEGED FRG AND US FORTHCOMING TROOPS' INCREASE (5 BRIGADES) AS ADDED JUSTIFICATION FOR AN IMMEDIATE FREEZE TO PREVENT AN ARMS RACE.

- EASTERN REACTION TO OUR REJECTION OF FREEZE WAS ON THE WHOLE MILD INDICATING DESIRE TO KEEP THIS ITEM ON THE AGENDA.

- EAST ATTACKED COLLECTIVE COMMON CEILING AS HAVING THE EFFECT OF CONTRACTUALIZING CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF OPPOSING MILITARY BLOCS, CLAIMING THIS WAS IN DIRECT CONFLICT WITH EASTERN DETENTE POLICY, WHICH AIMED AT DISSOLUTION OF THE "BLOCS".

SECOND INFORMAL (FEBRUARY 11):

- CHARACTERIZED BY LIVELY EXCHANGE GOING BACK TO FUNDAMENTALS, WHICH COVERED CONSIDERABLE GROUND AND MANY MISCELLANEOUS POINTS OF INTEREST.

- ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES: STRESSED CONFORMITY OF WESTERN APPROACH WITH AGREED OBJECTIVES OF VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS.

- REFUTED EASTERN ARGUMENTS FOR NATIONAL CEILINGS.

- ALLIED REPS MADE CASE FOR IMMEDIATE DATA DISCUSSION, WHICH EAST AGAIN REJECTED BY CLAIMING THAT PRIOR KNOWLEDGE OF WHAT PERCENTAGE OF ITS FORCES WERE TO BE REDUCED WAS ADEQUATE FOR EACH PARTICIPANT'S PURPOSE. HOWEVER, THEY STATED THAT, IN THE PROTOCOL WHICH THEY ENVISAGED AS BEING NEGOTIATED AFTER AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF REDUCTIONS, IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO INCLUDE NUMBERS AS WELL AS UNITS TO BE REDUCED BY EACH COUNTRY: THE PERCENTAGE OF REDUCTIONS WOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE AGREEMENT PROPER.

- SLIGHTLY MORE EMPHASIS PLACED ON THEIR FIRST
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STEP PROPOSAL THAN HAS BEEN THE CASE SINCE THE EAST FIRST MADE THE FREEZE PROPOSAL.

THIRD INFORMAL (FEBRUARY 18):

- AMBASSADOR KHLESTOV RETURNED FROM THE SOVIET UNION, WHERE HE WAS DELAYED BY DEATHS IN HIS FAMILY, BUT DID NOT PLAY SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN DISCUSSION.

- WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES LAID BLAME FOR LACK OF PROGRESS ON EASTERN POSITION: THEIR INSISTENCE ON CONTRACTUALIZING GROUND FORCE DISPARITIES IN THE NGA; THEIR EFFORTS TO GAIN NATIONAL FORCE CEILINGS; AND THEIR REFUSAL TO DISCUSS DATA.

- EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES RENEWED CHARGE THAT ALLIES WERE DEPARTING FROM PRINCIPLES AGREED AT PREPARATORY TALKS, IN PARTICULAR THE PRINCIPLE OF MUTUALITY AND OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY.

- EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES ASKED THE ALLIES TO RECONSIDER THEIR REJECTION OF THE EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL.

- ISSUE OF GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS DISCUSSED BY WEST AS ONE BASIS FOR COMPENSATION IN LARGER EASTERN REDUCTIONS.

- ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES ANSWERED WP COMPLAINT THAT THE US AND FRG WERE INCREASING THEIR FORCES - I.E., A RE-ORGANIZATION OF FORCES WHICH DID NOT IN FACT INVOLVE MANPOWER INCREASES. AT SAME TIME POINTED OUT THAT BOTH SIDES WERE OF COURSE ENGAGED IN ON-GOING FORCE IMPROVEMENT PROGRAMS AND THAT TO DEBATE THESE PROGRAMS WOULD NOT BE PRODUCTIVE.

- ALLIES LINKED THIS ARGUMENT TO NEED FOR DATA EXCHANGE TO DISPEL ANY CONCERN ABOUT FORCE INCREASES.

- CLOSING WP REMARKS POINTED TO THEIR FIRST STEP PROPOSAL AS A STEP TO SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS AND NOT INTENDED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THEM.

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FOURTH INFORMAL (FEBRUARY 25):

(CANADIAN REP WILL USE MATERIAL CONTAINED SEPTTEL

ON NEW EASTERN PROPOSAL INTRODUCED DURING FEBRUARY 25
INFORMAL.)

D. PUBLIC INFORMATION POSTURE

- THE WPO DELIBERATELY PUBLICIZED THEIR FREEZE
PROPOSAL FOLLOWING THE THIRD PLENARY

- WESTERN SPOKESMAN GAVE THE AHG CONTINGENCY PAPER
IN REBUTTAL

- WESTERN PRESS FAVOURABLE TO ALLIANCE POSITION ON
WPO FREEZE PROPOSAL, AND PICKED UP ALLIED COUNTER POSI-
TION. HOWEVER, FREEZE PROPOSAL HAS NOT AS YET RECEIVED
EXTENSIVE COVERAGE IN WESTERN PRESS.

E. ACTIVITIES OF FRONT ORGANIZATIONS:

- LETTER FROM WORLD VETERANS FEDERATION AND INTER-
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF RESISTANTS (AND CITED BY DICHEV
IN HIS SPEECH).

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O P 271530Z FEB 75

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S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 3 MBFR VIENNA 0072

- REPRESENTATIONS BY FRIEDEN UNION PARTY.

- CAMPAIGN BUILD-UP FOR MAY 9 ANNIVERSARY.

- RELATIONSHIP TO EASTERN FOCUS ON FRG.

F. IN THE AHG

- TACTICS FOR THIS ROUND WERE DEVELOPED IN THE AHG.

- IT WAS DECIDED TO PUSH ARGUMENT THAT THE WP WAS NOT INTERESTED IN SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS, SINCE THE EAST SHOWED SENSITIVITY TO THIS CHARGE.

- AHG FELT THAT THEY SHOULD PUSH THE COMMON CEILING AND DATA EXCHANGE.

- REITERATION OF ARGUMENTS FOR GREATER SOVIET REDUCTIONS (THAN U.S.) TO COMPENSATE FOR GEORGRAPHICAL ADVANTAGES.

- SINCE EAST HAS BEEN PRESSING ARGUMENT OF MUTUALITY
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IN CONNECTION WITH THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF THE PRINCIPLES AGREED UPON IN PREPARATORY TALKS, AHG DECIDED TO ADDRESS ITSELF TO THIS QUESTION.

G. PROSPECTS

THERE ARE NO SIGNS THAT WP SIDE IS CONSIDERING ALTERING ITS BASIC POSITION IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

THEY WILL NO DOUBT KEEP THEIR FREEZE PROPOSAL ON THE TABLE (AS WELL AS THEIR NOVEMBER 1973 DRAFT AGREEMENT) BUT ARE MORE LIKELY TO PRESS THEIR RECENT AMENDMENTS.

IN ABSENCE OF FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS FROM NAC, AHG WILL CONTINUE TO ACT ON THE BASIS OF ITS PRESENT GUIDANCE, EMPHASIZING THE NEED FOR THE 2-PHASE APPROACH AND FOR ASYMMETRICAL AND SUBSTANTIAL GROUND FORCE REDUCTIONS AS COMPENSATION FOR THE NUMERICAL AND GEORGRAPHICAL DISPARITIES WHICH FAVOUR THE EAST, AND THE LOGICAL MEANS OF REACHING AN EQUITABLE FORCE RELATIONSHIP IN CENTRAL EUROPE. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, THE GROUP CONSIDERS THAT ITS CONCLUSIONS IN PARA 7 OF ITS REPORT TO THE COUNCIL OF NOVEMBER 29, 1975 REMAIN VALID.

N.B. SUGGESTED DATE FOR NEXT AHG REPORT: 21 MARCH.

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